

A 1578/5505 (2)

R E V I E W

OF A

L A T E T R E A T I S E,

E N T I T U L E D

An *Account* of the CONDUCT

OF THE

Dowager D--- of M——, &c.

In which

Many MISREPRESENTATIONS are detected,
several Obscure PASSAGES searched into and
explained, and Abundance of False FACTS set
in their true Light ;

Especially such as relate to

The Reigns of K. WILLIAM and Q. MARY

IN

A LETTER to a PERSON OF DISTINCTION

What *strikes* us *strongly*, may not others *strike*.

A *Painter* seldom draws his *Picture* like.

Memoirs are *Tales*, that of *Ourselves* we tell ;

And to *Ourselves*, alone, they *relish* well.

Indulge our *Notions*, and our *Passions* *sooth* ;

These, Others *slight* — as seeking only — TRUTH.

ANONYM.

D U B L I N :

Printed for WILLIAM SMITH in *Dames-street*, and
GEORGE FAULKNER in *Essex-street*, 1742.

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 O F A
 LATE TREATISE,

INTITULED,

*An Account of the CONDUCT of the
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IN Obedience to your *Commands*, I have perused the *Book* you sent; and think it, upon the Whole, as *entertaining*, and perhaps as *edifying*, as any *Memoirs* I have met with; and yet you know I have been a great Admirer of this *Sort of Writing* for many Years. The first Thing that struck me in it was the Candour of the *Great Lady*, in frankly acknowledging that she has, to this Hour, a great *Passion for being talked of*. For this Reason I take it for granted, that whoever contributes in any Shape to the making her *Apology* read, deserves her Thanks; because

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it is pursuing her *own Plan*, she desires that her *Conduct* should be the *Theme* of *publick Conversation* before her *Death*; and it is but *Good-manners* to comply with a *Lady's Demand*.

The *Spirit*, *Humour*, *Language* of this extraordinary Piece, all proclaim it *genuine*; and if, from the *Likeness* of a *Child*, there be any guessing at the *true Parent*, the *Mother* of this *pretty Babe* might have been easily known, even if she had attempted to keep herself *concealed*. All that *Vivacity*, *Freedom*, and *Contempt of Dignities*, which have *distinguished* the *Lady* from all *other Ladies*, shine with such *Lustre* in the *Book*, as to set it beyond *Comparison* with *any other* of the *Kind*, except it be the *Lord Clarendon's History*, which I humbly conceive to be *near a-kin* to this admirable *Treatise* (though there never was any *Relation* between the *Authors Families*); for this Reason, that his Lordship wrote his *History*, purely to shew that throughout his *whole Life* he was *ever* in the *Right*; and her Ladyship has had the *Goodness* to *publish* her *Conduct*, to convince the *World* that, in her *own Opinion*, she was *never once in the Wrong*.

You were pleased to caution me against *too much Freedom* in my *Remarks*; and certainly, Sir, there was Reason. The *Sex* and *Quality* of the *Writer* require all the *Decency* and *Tenderness* imaginable; and independent of both, the *Merit* of the *Work* itself would incline any candid

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candid Reader to propose his *Doubts* modestly, and to declare his *Difference* in *Sentiment* with due Submission. But, Sir, though all this be *right* in itself, and therefore a *Path* from which I shall *never deviate*; yet, I persuade myself, this *Great Lady* expects no such *Strictness*; but, on the contrary, is willing that the *same Liberty* should be taken with her *Notions*, and that her *Conduct* should be as *strictly* scann'd as the *Judgment* and *Manner* of acting (even of her *Superiors*) are *condemned* in this very Book. Her *Love of Truth*, her *good Sense*, her *high Spirit*, all require this; for to pretend to *justify* one's self, and yet to suffer *no Reply*, is not only weak and womanish, but childish and impertinent: And therefore, though you, Sir, talk'd of *Circumspection* and *Caution*, yet I persuade myself *she never would*. She has too *high* a *Sense* of her *own Merit*, to fear that any *Impression* should be made by *Slander*; and too just a *Knowledge* of the *World*, to apprehend that *Power*, or *Art*, or *Eloquence*, can for ever *stifle*, *conceal*, or *misrepresent* Truth.

The *Defects* that appear to me in these *Memoirs*, are only such as will be seen by every Reader in the *Accounts of Persons Lives*, written by *themselves*, or by *such* as were *better acquainted* with *them* than the *rest* of the *World* can be supposed to be. I find many Things *omitted*, which seem to me very *essential*: I find others related *less fully* than I could

wish; and in many Passages I find *Facts* so stated that, I confess, I *know not what to make of them at all*. As I find, by the *Marks* in the *Book* you sent me, that you and I often *stumble* at the same *Stone*, methinks it is a natural Conclusion, that there may be *many* other People in the World whose Understandings are upon a *Par* with our own; and consequently, without farther Explication, this *Apology* may lose its *Aim*, which I dare say would *disappoint its Author*; and to prevent this, I see no better Way than to *speak what one thinks*.

In the subsequent Pages, therefore, of these *Remarks*, I shall pursue the same *Method* that is taken by the *Author*, that is to say, I shall proceed according to the Order in which I find Things *digested*, and shall tell you plainly what appears to be *wanting*, what looks as if it was *disguised*, and what *contradicts* the *Accounts* I have received from *other Hands*, naming, as I go along, my *Authorities*. For I must observe, That this *Book* itself has a certain *Character* which ought to be regarded in whatever one *says about it*. It is not the Work of *One* who writes without having any exact Knowledge of *Matters of Fact*; it is not an *Apology* drawn to curry Favour; it is not one of those *Satyrs* which are sent into the *World*, under *illustrious Names*, to spread *Slander* the *wider* and more *securely*; but it is a Piece written expressly to *discover the Truth*,

to

to state *Facts* which concern the *Publick*, so as the *Publick* may be *satisfied*, and to prevent the bad Effects of *Calumny* and *Rumour*. It is, therefore, highly requisite, that wherever we presume to question any thing it contains, we should offer *good Grounds* for *so doing*; and where this *can be done*, I must confess I think it *ought to be done*; for sure there are *some Characters* treated in that *Book* which deserve *as much Respect* as even the D---w---r D--- of M---'s.

HERE, Sir, shall end my *Introduction*, and in all I have farther to say, I shall attend only to *Facts* well established, and shall very seldom *reason* upon them farther than to *explain* their *Connection* with my *Design*, which is, to use a Phrase of the noble Author's, *if I have any Knowledge of my own Heart*, the same with that of the *Book* itself, to throw some *Light* on many *obscure Passages* in a very interesting *Part* of our *History*, and to prevent People from forming to themselves *Characters* of great *Persons* upon *slight and idle Reports*, and then make such *Characters* the *Rule* by which they admit or reject whatever they afterwards hear concerning them.

There appears in the very *Dawn* of this *History* that *Spirit* of *Independency* which has always animated a great *Lady's Conduct*, and which contributes not a little to *enliven* her *Work*. She played with the *Princess* of *Denmark* when they were *Children*, she was *distin-*

guished by her at first Sight ; this Distinction was the Effect of the Lady's Merit, and the Princess's fine Taste. Though so young a Favourite, she was not a Flatterer, but a Friend, and as long as she lived near her Mistress, she preserved this Dignity in Character, and served her from a Sentiment of Honour, rather than Gratitude and Duty, which was so much the more easy for her to do, since the Princess admitted her to a kind of EQUALITY, of which the World is furnished, in this extraordinary Piece, with very authentick Vouchers.

I do not pretend to any such *private Knowledge* of this *Lady's Family and Affairs*, as may furnish me with the Means of *supporting* what she *relates*, by shewing that there was nothing *mean or little* in this *Condescension* of the *Princess*, or which ought to make us think *amiss* of her putting herself so much upon a *Level* with her *Favourite* ; I leave the Reader to be informed of that *elsewhere*. Perhaps the *Lady*, though she was not *born*, might have a *Foresight* that one Day she was *herself* to become a *Princess*, and so *antedated* the *Honours* which belong to so high a *Character*. But as there are many things *deficient and obscure*, through the *Modesty* of the *Writer*, in this introductory Account of her *own Character*, I will endeavour to supply both *that* and Lord *Cb*—*P's* from *unexceptionable Authority* ; I mean that of Bishop *Burnet*, who thus characterizes this *illustrious Pair*.

‘ Having

‘ Having now named the Lord *Churchil*,
 ‘ who is like to be mentioned oft by me in
 ‘ the Sequel of this Work ; I will say a little
 ‘ more of him. He was a Man of a noble
 ‘ and graceful Appearance, bred up in the
 ‘ Court, with no Literature ; but he had a so-
 ‘ lid and clear Understanding, with a constant
 ‘ Presence of Mind. He knew the Arts of
 ‘ living in a Court beyond any Man in it.
 ‘ He caressed all People with a soft and oblig-
 ‘ ing Deportment, and was always ready to
 ‘ do good Offices. He had no Fortune to set
 ‘ up on ; this put him on all the Methods of
 ‘ acquiring one ; and that went so far into
 ‘ him, that he did not shake it off, when he
 ‘ was in a much higher Elevation. Nor was
 ‘ his Expence suited enough to his Posts ; but
 ‘ when Allowances are made for that, it
 ‘ must be acknowledged that he is one of the
 ‘ greatest Men the Age has produced. He
 ‘ was in *high Favour* with the King, but his
 ‘ Lady was much more in *Princess Anne’s*
 ‘ Favour ; she had an *Ascendant* over her in
 ‘ every thing. She was a *Woman of little*
 ‘ Knowledge, but of *clear Apprehension*, and
 ‘ a *true Judgment* ; a warm and hearty Friend,
 ‘ violent and sudden in her *Resolutions*, and
 ‘ impetuous in her *Way of Speaking*. She was
 ‘ thought proud and insolent on her Favour,
 ‘ though she used none of the *common Arts*
 ‘ of a Court to maintain it ; for she did not
 ‘ beset the *Princess*, nor flatter her. She staid

‘ much at home, and looked very carefully
 ‘ after the Education of her Children. Hav-
 ‘ ing thus opened both their Characters, I
 ‘ will now give an Account of this *Lord’s En-*
 ‘ *gagements* in this Matter, for which he has
 ‘ been so severely censured, as guilty both of
 ‘ Ingratitude and Treachery, to a very kind
 ‘ and liberal Master. He never discovered
 ‘ any of the King’s Secrets, nor did he ever
 ‘ push him on to any violent Proceedings, so
 ‘ that he was in *no Contrivance to ruin or be-*
 ‘ *tray him.* On the contrary, whensoever he
 ‘ spoke to the King of his Affairs, which he
 ‘ did but seldom, because he could not fall in
 ‘ with the King’s Notions, he always suggest-
 ‘ ed moderate Counsels. The Earl of *Gal-*
 ‘ *way* told me, that when he came over with
 ‘ the first Compliment upon the King’s com-
 ‘ ing to the Crown, he said then to him, that,
 ‘ if the King was ever prevailed on to alter
 ‘ our Religion, he would serve him no lon-
 ‘ ger, but withdraw from him ; so early was
 ‘ this Resolution fix’d in him. When he
 ‘ saw how the King was set, he could not be
 ‘ contented to see all ruin’d by him. He was
 ‘ also very doubtful as to the pretended Birth.
 ‘ So he resolved, when the Prince should
 ‘ come over, *to go into him ; but to betray*
 ‘ *no Post, nor do any thing more than the with-*
 ‘ *drawing himself, with such Officers as he*
 ‘ *could trust with such a Secret.* He also un-
 ‘ dertook that Prince George and the Princess

‘ Anne

‘ *Anne would leave the Court and come to the*
 ‘ *Prince as soon as was possible.*

If we compare this Account of the *Flight* of the Princess of *Denmark*, with that given us in the *Memoirs*, we must conclude, either that Bishop *Burnet* was *misinformed*, that the *great Lady's Husband* was a kind of *Prophet*, that she, as she somewhere expresses it, knew what *Conduct* some People would make use of by *Instinct*, or that this *Lady herself* misremembers *some Passages*. Be pleased to consider her Account of the Matter.

‘ Upon the Landing of the Prince of *O-*
 ‘ *range* in 1688, the King went down to
 ‘ *Salisbury* to his Army, and the Prince of
 ‘ *Denmark* with him; but the News quickly
 ‘ came from thence, that the Prince of *Den-*
 ‘ *mark* had left the King, and was gone o-
 ‘ ver to the Prince of *Orange*, and that the
 ‘ King was coming back to *London*. This
 ‘ put the Princess into a great Fright, she sent
 ‘ for me, told me her Distress, and declared,
 ‘ *That rather than see her Father she would*
 ‘ *jump out at Windows*. This was her very
 ‘ Expression.

‘ A little before, a Note had been left
 ‘ with me, to inform me where I might find
 ‘ the Bishop of *London* (who, in that critical
 ‘ time, absconded) if her Royal Highness
 ‘ should have Occasion for a Friend. The
 ‘ The Princess, on this Alarm, immediately
 ‘ sent me to the Bishop. I acquainted him
 ‘ with

' with her Resolution to leave the Court, and
 ' to put herself under his Care. It was hereup-
 ' on agreed, that when he had advised with his
 ' Friends in the City, he should come about
 ' Midnight in a Hackney Coach to the
 ' Neighbourhood of the Cockpit, in order to
 ' convey the Princess to some Place where she
 ' might be private and safe.

' The Princess went to Bed at the usual
 ' Time, to prevent Suspicion. I came to her
 ' soon after, and by the Back-stairs which
 ' went down from her Closet, her Royal
 ' Highness, my Lady *Fikbarding*, and I,
 ' with one Servant, walk'd to the Coach,
 ' where we found the Bishop and the Earl of
 ' *Dorset*. They conducted us that Night to
 ' the Bishop's House in the City, and the
 ' next Day to my Lord *Dorset's*, at *Copt-hall*.
 ' From thence we went to the Earl of *Nor-*
 ' *thampton's*, and from thence to *Nottingham*,
 ' where the Country gathered about the Prin-
 ' cess; nor did she think herself safe, till she
 ' saw that she was *surrounded by the Prince*
 ' *of Orange's Friends*.

' The most remarkable thing that happen-
 ' ed to the Princess during her Stay at this
 ' Place, was a Letter she received from Lord
 ' *Clarendon*. It was full of Compliments, and,
 ' at the same time full of Complaints, that
 ' she had not told him of a thing he lik'd so
 ' well, that he might have had a Share in it.
 ' How well these Complaints and the Ear-
 ' nestness

‘ nestness he shewed (in a Consultation held
 ‘ at *Windſor*, before the Prince of *Orange* came
 ‘ to *London*) to have King *James* sent to the
 ‘ Tower, agreed with his Conduct afterwards,
 ‘ I shall leave to the World to judge.

‘ As this Flight of the Princess to *Notting-*
 ‘ *ham* has, by some, been *ignorantly*, not to
 ‘ say *maliciously* imputed to my Policy, and
 ‘ *premeditated Contrivance*, I thought it neces-
 ‘ sary to give this short but exact Relation
 ‘ of it. It was a thing *sudden* and *unconcerted*;
 ‘ nor had I any Share in it, farther than
 ‘ *obeying* my Mistress’s Orders in the Parti-
 ‘ culars I have mentioned ; though indeed I
 ‘ had Reason enough, on my *own Account*,
 ‘ to get out of the *Way*, Lord *Ch——l*
 ‘ having likewise, at that time, *left* the King,
 ‘ and *gone over* to the *other Party*.

One sees, by this Account, how strangely
 People may be *imposed* upon ; for certainly
 it must have been a *false*, though I can scarce
 think it a *malicious* Imputation, because there
 were so many Circumstances to make it pro-
 bable, that the Princess of *Denmark’s Flight*
 was not without the *Advice* of Lady *Ch——l*,
 and omitting the rest, I shall mention only
two : The first is that the Princess did *no-*
thing but by this Lady’s *Advice*, even in tri-
 vial Matters, as her *own Book* shews. And
 the second is, that Lord *Ch——l* was then
gone over to the Prince of *Orange* ; so that
 though she had doubtless more Sense than to
 think

think of *jumping out of a Window*, yet she might naturally contrive *to go away in a Coach and Six*.

FROM what is said above of Lord Clarendon's Behaviour, which to be sure was brutal and unnatural, one may plainly perceive what Lady Ch——'s *Sentiments* were at *this time*, and therefore I cannot but admire how prettily the Defection of her Lord is express'd, *he, at that time, left the King, and went over to the other Party*. Very soft and significant truly, and perfectly agreeable to what Bishop Burnet says in his Character. Yet the Mischief is, that his Lordship was as much *belyed* as his Lady, and that too by Persons whose Words one would be tempted to *take* upon any other Occasion in the World. Sir John Reresby, Bart. who was Governor of York for King James, and a Man of great Honour, has the following Passage in his *Memoirs*, which seems not to tally well either with the Lady's or the Bishop's Account, and yet he was a very intelligent Man who wrote it.

ON the 19th of November, the King having then reached Salisbury, where his Army was rendezvoused; the Lord Ch——l, one of his Major-Generals, under Pretence of shewing him his Out-guards, misled his Majesty into a Train which must have *betrayed him to the Hands of a Party of the Prince of Orange's Army*, had not an immoderate *Bleeding at the Nose* prevented the King from proceeding: and the said Lord, perceiving his Design

Design to be thus frustrated, immediately went over to the Prince, accompanied by the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Berkley*, and others: Though it must be observed, That this Lord *Ch——l* was raised from a Page to the King to the Degree of a Viscount of *England*, and in Possession of a great Estate therewith, which was entirely owing to his Majesty's Bounty. The King astonished, and not knowing who to trust, returned to *Andover* on the 24th, where he sat at Supper with Prince *George* of *Denmark* his Son-in-law, and the Duke of *Ormond*; but, to the Surprize of all Men, they both deserted him *that very Night*, and *withdrew to the Prince*, together with others of good Note and Account. The very next Day the Princess of *Denmark* departed privately from *Whitehall*, in Company with Lady *Ch——l*, and took Refuge at *Nottingham*.

One may justly wonder that no Notice is taken of *this* in the Apology before us. The Story had been often told before it appeared in *Print*, and was generally known to such as lived in, or were curious about the *History of those Times*. If it should be suggested that still greater Authority is wanting to set this Tale above the Character of a *Table*, I must observe, That greater Authority may be had, indeed no less Authority than that of King *James* himself; for it was he who furnished Facts to Father *Orleans* when he was writing his *History of the Revolutions in England under*
the

the Family of the Stuarts. But before I give the Reader his Words, I must observe one Thing more upon Sir *John Reresby's* Account; and it is this, That from the *Suddenness* of the Princess's withdrawing, one might be tempted to think she had some *earlier Intimation* of the *Prince* her *Consort's* Design, than could be derived from the *News* of his *Flight*; and the Notice given by the Bishop of *London*, where he might be *heard of* upon *Occasion*, seems to confirm this. One can scarce conceive how so many *Precautions* could be taken in *less* than a *Day*; and therefore if the foregoing Account should *clear* my Lady *Ch——l*, yet one must conceive that the *Princess* had some *Advice* or other upon this *Head*, before it became necessary to put *her Design in Execution*.

But to return to *Father Orleans's* Account of the *Attempt* made upon the *King's Person*: His Majesty (says he) confiding in the Professions of Duty and Affection made by the Officers of his Army, marched with what Forces he had kept in his old Camp, and came to *Salisbury*. No sooner was he there, but *Ch——l* (the Man who had received *more Favours* from *him* than *any other* in *all England*, and who had been always looked upon as a *Sort of Favourite*) laid a *Plot* to *carry him away*, and in all likelihood to *deliver him up* to the Prince of *Orange*.

As *Cornbury's* deserting gave the King Occasion to apprehend its Consequences, so it made the Prince suspect they might not be considerable

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siderable enough. He had been able to prevail
 but on a very *small Number* of all that Party
 he attempted to debauch, all the rest returning
 to *Salisbury*, abhorring the Treachery they
 were like to have been drawn into. The Gene-
 rality of the *Soldiers*, and most of the *inferior*
Officers were of that Mind. On the other hand,
Lovelace, instead of drawing over the County
 where he rose in Arms, to join with the Faction,
 had been attacked near *Cirencester* by the Mili-
 tia, taken, and committed through the Duke of
Beaufort's Care. On the other side, *Gifford* and
Sarsfield had defeated a Party of the Prince of
Orange's. This was the Posture of Affairs when
 the Faction, apprehending they had not taken
 their Measures right, resolved, in order to cut
 short, to seize the King. Ch——l being pitched
 upon to put that Design in Execution, cunning-
 ly persuaded the King to go take a View of his
 Advanced-Guards, being the Part of his Army
 nearest the Enemy. His Majesty was going in-
 to his Coach, when a sudden Bleeding at the
 Nose obliged him to put it off to another time.
 Before the Day was over he was informed from
 good Hands, that he was to have been car-
 ried off; and the Plot was laid to have con-
 veyed him to *Exeter*, had not Heaven, which
 provided for the Preservation of his Person,
 in order to make a longer Trial of his Patience,
 happily prevented the Design. However,
 Ch——l went off to the Prince of Orange
 with what Men he could carry over to him.

I once

I once mentioned this Circumstance to a Gentleman who was well acquainted with Transactions of those Times, and with all the Histories that have been written of them, and expressing my Surprize that Bishop *Burnet* should either be ignorant of this *Passage*, or not *set it down*, he made me this Answer, That, for his Part, he thought it might be pretty easily deduced from what he has told us : For, continued he, the Prelate speaking of King *James's* Stay at *Salisbury*, and of his Surprize at Lord *Cornbury's* going off with Part of his Troops, adds, immediately his Spirits sunk extremely ; *His Blood was in such Fermentation, that he was bleeding much at the Nose, which return'd oft upon him every Day* A little after, enumerating the King's Misfortunes, he sums them up thus : *But that which gave him the last and most confounding Stroke was, that the Lord Churchill and the Duke of Grafton left him, and came and join'd the Prince at Axminster, twenty Miles on that Side of Exeter. After this, he could not know on whom he could depend.* Here is the King's bleeding at the Nose, his Favourites deserting him, and the mighty Impression it made upon his Spirits. Afterwards, in the Transactions of the Year 1692, Bishop *Burnet* informs us, that Admiral *Russel* put himself upon ill Terms with the King, by pressing to know the Ground of the Earl of *Marlborough's* Disgrace ; for *Russel* (continues he)

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‘ had not only lived in great Friendship with
 ‘ that Earl, but had carried the first Messages
 ‘ that had passed between the Earl and the
 ‘ King, when he went over to *Holland*; and
 ‘ this it was that gave him Spirit enough al-
 ‘ most to upbraid the King with the Earl of
 ‘ *Marlborough*’s Services, who, as *Russel* said,
 ‘ had set the Crown on his Head.

I must admit that this is digressing a little from the *Subject* of the *Book* I undertook to examine; but as the *Fact* is very extraordinary, as the *Truth* or *Falshood* of it will never be thoroughly known, if the *stating* it upon this Occasion does not produce a *Vindication*; and as it is very odd to see *little Circumstances* dwelt upon, and *others of such Weight* slip over, I could not forbear giving you all this Trouble. I now return to the strict Pursuit of my Task; and the first Thing I meet with, is the *Affair* of the *Settlement* of the Crown on King *William* during his *Life*, to the *Prejudice* of the *Princess* of *Denmark*, to which this Lady tells us she *persuaded her to submit*, I think upon very *just Motives*; but I wonder much that the *Princess*, who was *directed* by her in *so material a Point*, should yet, in the *Affair* of her *Flight*, act without *consulting her*, and only vouchsafe to give her *those Orders* she would have *pursued*.

We have next a very odd Passage preserved by our noble Authress, in respect to Queen *Mary*’s Behaviour the first Day she came to
Whitehall.

Whitehall. I beg Leave to transcribe it, with the Lady's Reflection, and then I will give you my own Thoughts of the Matter. ' I was one of those (*says this Lady*) who had the Honour to wait on her to her own Apartment. She ran about it, looking into every Closet and Conveniency, and turning up the Quilts upon the Bed, as People do when they come into an Inn, and with no other Sort of Concern in her Appearance, but such as they express; a Behaviour which, though at that time I was extremely caress'd by her, I thought very strange and unbecoming. For whatever Necessity there was of deposing King *James*, he was still her Father, who had been so lately driven from that Chamber and that Bed; and if she felt no Tenderness, I thought she should at least have look'd grave, or even pensively sad, at so melancholy a Reverse of his Fortune'.

One sees, by this, how strict an Eye there is kept on the Looks and Gestures, as well as Words and Actions of Princes. Bishop *Burnet* takes notice of the same thing, He says, *There appear'd a great Air of Gaiety in the Countenance of the Princess, on her coming to Whitehall.* And he makes as strong a Reflection upon it. ' I thought (*says he*) a little more Seriousness had done as well, when she came into her Father's Palace, and was to be set on his Throne the next Day.' He did more, however, than remark upon it :
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he resolved to get the Matter explained to him ; in order to which, he spoke of it to the Princess, and told her his Sentiments plainly. In answer to which, She assured him, ‘ That
 ‘ notwithstanding her gay Appearance, she
 ‘ had a very lively Sense of her Father’s Sufferings ; but that Letters which had been
 ‘ wrote to her had obliged her to put on that
 ‘ Chearfulness in which perhaps she might go
 ‘ too far, because she was obeying Directions,
 ‘ and acting a Part which was not very natural to her.’ The Truth of the Matter was this ; while the Confusions continued in *England*, and the King’s Life was daily in imminent Danger, the Princess, then in *Holland*, shew’d deep Concern ; and this being reported in *England*, produced an Opinion that *she was much dissatisfied with all that had been done.* This coming to the Ears of the Prince of *Orange*, he thought fit to write her a Letter, enjoining her *to appear so chearful at her first coming over*, that no body might be discouraged by her Looks. And thus Obedience to her Husband subjected this excellent Lady to a Suspicion of Want of *Tendernefs* for her Father ; which is the less credible, since I am well assured that there never was a *fonder Parent* than he, both to *her* and to her Sister, infomuch that Mr. *Oldmixon* is pleased to observe, that on the Flight of the Princess of *Denmark*, the King burst into Tears, and could not help crying out,
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God help me, my own Children have forsaken me! He was less able to bear as a Father, than as a Prince.

But to shew you what strange Reflections several People will make on the same Fact, I cannot but observe, that Mr *Oldmixon*, who says he was likewise an *Eye-witness* of the *Princess's Behaviour* on this Occasion, will not allow that she acted under any Direction, or was performing a Part not natural to her, and he says that Archdeacon *Echard* would not have ventured to have reported such a *Falsity*, if he had been in his Place. But by his Leave, this is deceiving his Reader egregiously; for tho' *Echard* reports it, yet the Fact is founded on the *Authority* of the *Princess* herself, who told Bishop *Burnet*, that she was deeply affected, that what she did was purely by Direction, and pleaded the *Unnaturalness* of her Conduct as an *Excuse* for her over-acting her Part. This I take to be a full Justification of the *Princess*, because I presume she must be allowed to know her own Meaning better than the *critical Historian*, or any Male or Female *Censurer* whatever; and that she did not want *Bowels*, but *Boldness* to disobey her *Husband*.

I cannot resist the Temptation of tacking another Circumstance with respect to Queen *Mary's* Conduct at this critical Juncture, to what I have been already saying. It is related by Mr. *Oldmixon*, and said to have hap-
pen'd at her Coronation. ' The *Princess* of
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‘ *Denmark* (says he) observing that her Sister
 ‘ was heated with the Royal Robes, the Breath
 ‘ of such a prodigious Croud as assisted at this
 ‘ Solemnity, and tired with the Time and
 ‘ Ceremony, said to her softly, *I pity your*
 ‘ *Fatigue, Madam*; to which her Majesty
 ‘ reply’d, *A Crown, Sister, is not so heavy as*
 ‘ *it seems to be*, or something like it.’ He tells
 us this to shew, that Queen *Mary* was *tho-*
roughly satisfied with her own Manner of act-
 ing, and that she was far from having any *Con-*
cern at *sharing her Father’s Throne*.

Thus, Sir, we see how far the Tempers of
 all Writers operate on the Subjects they relate,
 and what different Appearances the *same Facts*
 have, when *told* by Folks of *several Parties*.
 The great Lady, whose Memoirs I examine,
 appears to have been *no Friend* to the *Revolu-*
tion at the time it *took Place*; and she, from
 Queen *Mary’s* Conduct, thought *she wanted*
Bowels. Bishop *Burnet*, who certainly was a
better Man than his Enemies *thought him*, and
 a *wiser* than he was *believed to be* by most of
 his *Friends*, though he was *perfectly satisfied*
 with the *Revolution*, yet, from Principles of
Honour and *Religion* thought the Queen’s Be-
 haviour *a little indecent* till it was *explain’d*.
 Mr. *Oldmixon* again, who seems to *detest* King
James as a *Prince*, and to have no *Pity* for
 him as a *Man*, thinks Queen *Mary* would have
 acted *right*, if she had *forgot* she was his
Daughter. The poor Queen herself ascribes
 her

her Conduct to the *over-acting a Part* which was *not natural* to her. But to proceed.

The Story we have in this Book of the Princess *Anne's* Resentment about Lord *Devonshire's* liking some Lodgings at *Whitehall* is the most *improbable thing* in the whole Mass of strange Relations. That her Royal Highness should express such Contempt and Distaste towards this Nobleman, as to say, to the Queen her Sister, *that she would stay where she was, for she would not have my Lord Devonshire's Leavings*, is what I can never believe. and before I have done, I persuade myself, Sir, that you will not believe it, tho' it came backed by *better Authority* than it does; for I do not observe that this Lady asserts, she *heard* the Princess say this, and therefore she could be informed of it *no other way* than being *told it* by somebody in whose Veracity she had a Confidence. In order to be convinced that the *Princess* never could be capable of *acting* in such a Manner to the Earl of *Devonshire*, I shall only tell you what Part he acted in regard to this illustrious Lady in the time of her *deepest Distress*.

When the Princess of *Denmark* fled from *London*, as has been before related, she intended to go directly to *Nottingham*, where the Earl of *Devonshire* then was with the Forces he had raised for the Service of the Prince of *Orange*. In her Journey a Rumour was industriously spread, *That a Party of*
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the Enemy's would intercept her: Upon which the Earl marched out with a good Body of Horse, and at some Miles Distance from the Town, met her Royal Highness with great *Respect* and *Joy*, and conducted her to the Castle (from whence the noble Owner the Duke of *Newcastle* had withdrawn) and kept Tables at his own *Expence*, and *provided all the other Accommodations of a Court*, and a standing Council. When his Stock failed, he accepted of some Contributions, and at last borrowed the publick Money in such a manner, as to satisfy the Collectors, and please the Country. When a Copy of the Association came, he readily went into it, and was followed by those who were most hearty in the Cause. When some were so cautious as to decline it, he wav'd their Refusal with great Temper; but when they afterwards on a nearer Prospect of Success, offer'd to subscribe, he then check'd them for their former Wariness, and said, *There was now no need of their doing it*. The Princess was *extremely satisfied* with her Reception; but desiring to be *nearer* to his *Royal Highness* Prince George, propos'd to go towards *Oxford*, whereupon the Earl of *Devonshire*, and his noble Train, were *a Guard to her Royal Highness*, and by easy and very convenient Stages, conducted her safe to *Oxford*, where she was soon after met by her most *affectionate Consort* the Prince. When the Princess *Anne* mounted the

Throne, she found the Duke of *Devonshire* in Possession of great Places, and she raised him to still greater ; she made him *Lord High Steward of England* for the Ceremony of the *Coronation*, and continued her Favour to him to the Day of his Death, which happened in 1707. She conferred all his Places of Dignity and Trust upon *his Son*, and when she did it, she added to so *gracious* an *Act* still more *gracious Expressions*. *I have lost* (said she) *a loyal Subject, and a good Friend in your Father ; but I doubt not of finding them both again in you.*

I would ask you, Sir, what Probability there is that, after such great Obligations so lately conferred on her Highness by the Earl of *Devonshire*, she should speak of him to the Queen her Sister, who knew all this as well as she, in Terms so full of Disrespect ? I would ask you, Sir, how this consists with her *future Conduct*, with the *Confidence* she reposed in him when *Queen*, and with this signal Testimony of *Respect* for his *Memory* when he was in his *Grave* ? I would ask you, Sir, how this agrees with the *Character* of the *Person* of whom it is related ; or rather I should ask you, whether it is not manifestly *repugnant* thereto ? Queen *Anne* was remarkable for her *Sincerity* and *Uprightness of Heart* ; the World *knows* it, her Enemies have *confess'd* it ; this very Lady has *testified* her *Knowledge* of this *Truth* ; yet this Story, if it was credible, would fix upon her the strongest Imputation of *Ingratitude* and *Pride*. I would
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ask you farther, Sir, whether, when you consider that this Lady tells us *the Duke of Devonshire took it into his Head, that, could he have the Dutcheß of Portsmouth's Lodgings, where there was a fine Room for Balls, it would give him a magnificent Air, and thereby betrays her Dislike of him.* And, in her Account of the Princess's Flight, slides over the Obligations she was under to this noble Peer in this quaint Expression, *Nor did she think herself safe, till she saw that she was surrounded by the Prince of Orange's Friends;* which shews she knew the Service done by the *Earl of Devonshire*, though she could not bring herself *to own it.* I say, Sir, I would ask you, when you have consider'd all this, whether you do not think this same Lady *puts herself* for once in the Place of her *Mistress*, and vents *that Spleen* she had, for what Reason I know not, to this noble Peer? The Matter, I confess, is not very important, farther than as it affects the Credit of these *Memoirs*, which indeed I think intirely destroyed by the inserting so groundless, so *ridiculous* a Story.

There are *two* State Points in the Beginning of King *William's* Reign, in respect to which this Lady values herself on the *Wisdom* and *Dexterity* of her Conduct. The *first* is prevailing upon the Princess *Anne* to be easy under the *Act of Settlement*, by which the Crown was *fix'd* on the King's Head for *Life*, and thereby her Right *postponed.* The *second* is

the rendering the Princess *independant*, in some Measure, of the *Court*, by procuring for her a Parliamentary Settlement of *fifty thousand Pounds a Year*. I must own that as to the *first Step* I think it was intirely *right*; and as to the *second*, I will not pretend to say that it was *wrong*; but inasmuch as this gives us an Opportunity of conversing freely upon these *high Points of Policy*, and to state fairly some Opinions which, at any other Time, it would be *indecent*, or at least *improper* to mention. I must intreat your Patience a little upon both Heads.

First, then, as to the Princess waving her *Right* to the *Crown*, as it is call'd, during the King's *Life-time*, in case he *surviv'd* the Queen, I think it was so *reasonable* a thing, that there needed not much Penetration to see the Expediency of it. As to *Right*, one must admit it was a little *out* of the *Question*, all Parties agreeing that what was done by the Convention, derived its Validity from *Necessity*, and not from the *ordinary Course* of the *Laws*. The Throne was declared *vacant*, while the King was *alive*, and was endeavouring to *return* to it by *Force*; and the only Reason assigned for this, I mean the only weighty and essential Reason, was *the Safety of the People*. This being the *Foundarion* of that *Resolution*, upon which *all the rest* were grounded, it was but equitable that *these* should have a Reference to it, I mean that in *filling* the *Throne*,

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the same Regard should be had to the *People of Britain's Safety*, as had been shewn in *declaring it empty*. The Cause of the former was, that King *James* had made *other Rules* than those of his *Subjects Happiness*, Motives to his *Conduct*; and as to the latter, Care was to be taken, that the *new Establishment* should be as *firmly fix'd*, in hopes that it would be *better regulated* than the *former*. But, if King *William* had received the Crown in so *precarious* a Way as during the *Life* of the *Queen* his *Consort*, there would, strictly speaking, have been *no Establishment at all*; for not to mention the numerous Inconveniences that must have ensued under the Reign of *one*, who was a King *to day*, and might be a private Man *to morrow*, there was this Circumstance certain, that the Prince of *Orange* would *never have accepted the Crown* upon such Terms. Then again, as to any *Hardship* the Princess might think herself under, it ought to have been balanced by a just Sense of the *Advantage* which she gained; for if this *Act of Settlement* postponed her *Title* to the *Succession*, it *bestowed it too*; if she was to *succeed* after her *Brother-in-law*, she was to *succeed* before her *Brother*, which she never could have done, if this *Settlement* had not taken Place; and if she was satisfied that *he was not her Brother*, the Case was still *stronger*, for she had no way to defend herself against the *Arts* of her *Mother-in-law*, but by the *Act* of this *Convention*, which

I believe no reasonable Man thinks would have been of *any Significance*, if it had *settled* the *Crown* or the *Succession* any otherwise than it did. Yet the *Great Lady*, who had then the Management of the Princess, acknowledges, that *when the Thing was first started, she thought it so unreasonable, that she took a great deal of Pains to promote her Mistress's Pretensions*. Yet, till that Act was made, no sensible Person could dream of any legal Pretensions that her Mistress had.

It was a true Sense that the Nobility and Gentry, who formed that *Convention*, had of the Reasons I have before laid down, which induced them to act in the Manner they did; and this *Lady*, with great Ingenuity, owns, that notwithstanding all her Pains, she quickly found Endeavours of that Kind would be ineffectual; that all the principal Men, except the Jacobites, were for the King; and that the Settlement would be carried in Parliament, whether the Princess consented to it, or not: So that, in Reality, there was nothing advisable, but to yield with a good Grace. It seems, however, her Ladyship found it necessary to desire some Assistance upon this Occasion, which induced her to make use of Lady *Russel* and Dr. *Tillotson*; but to do what?—Why, to put out of the Princess's Head the Notions she had put into it, which they were so happy as to do, and the Princess acquiesced. But it seems the King and Queen never forgot, and, if

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if we may believe this Book, never *forgave* the Pains taken by *this Lady* to promote her *Mistress's Pretensions*, till she was convinced the Pursuit of them was impracticable. Here then is a plain Account of the *real Source* of that *Dislike* which the *King* and *Queen* had of *Lady C.—l*, and here we discover that *Root* of *Bitterness* which tinges all that she *says* of *King William* and *Queen Mary*. It seems their Majesties thought she *assumed too much* in directing the *Princess* as she did, and did not care to fall under the Tuition of *her* and *her Lord*: and for this Reason *King William* is not allowed to have so much as the *Manners* of a *Gentleman*, and *Queen Mary* is said to *have wanted Bowels*.

As to the *Settlement* made on the *Princess* of *Denmark*, I must say that I am entirely of her *Uncle's Opinion*, it would have been better if she had accepted it from the *King*. It would have shewn her Sincerity in *acquiescing* under the *Settlement*; it would have been *setting* a good *Example* to the rest of their Majesties Subjects; it would have saved a great deal of *Time* and *Trouble* which the *Parliament* had with that *Affair*; and it would have disappointed the *Views*, and taken away the *Hopes* of the *Enemies* to that *Government*. On the other hand, I must admit that it was highly requisite the *King* should have made such a *Settlement* as the *Parliament* did make upon the *Princess*; and I am glad to find, from this very Book, that he *offered* to make it; and that

the Earl of *Rochester*, who was the *Princess's* Uncle, gave it as his Opinion, not only ' that she ought to be satisfied with fifty thousand Pounds a Year, but that she ought to have taken it in any way the King and Queen had pleased.' In respect to the ill Usage which, we are told, Queen *Mary* gave her Sister upon this Occasion, and particularly her making use to her of this Expression, *Pray what Friends have you but the King and me?* I confess it sticks a good deal with me; for though the Princess might apprehend she had *other Friends*, yet any reasonable Man must own, that the King and Queen were her *best Friends*, and therefore those on whom she ought to have depended most. This appears too from the Book before us; wherein we are expressly told, ' that the *Jacobites* were but pretended Friends; and that ' the Zeal of the Tories for her on this Occasion was doubtless to thwart King *William*, for on any other they did not discover much Regard to the Princess of *Denmark*; and as for the *Whigs*, they did not make their *Court* to her at all: So that I do not see the Wit, though I plainly perceive the Malice of this Lady's Reflection, ' that the Princess had, in a short time, learnt that she must be very miserable if she was to have no Support but the Friendship of the two Persons her Majesty had mentioned.'

I must confess the *strong Things* that are said in this Book, as to the *Interest* of the Earl and Countess of *Marlborough*, and the *Use* they

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they made of *it* in procuring a *Settlement* for the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Denmark*, surprizes and shocks me to the last Degree. To imagine that so soon after the Revolution, *Influence* should operate in such a Manner on *both Houses* of *Parliament*, is amazing; and that any Person should have the *Vanity* to value themselves on such an *Influence*, and to *boast* of it to the *World*, is still more amazing. If, as Things were circumstanced, it was *reasonable* to give the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Denmark* such a *Settlement*, when the King had the *Customs* given him only for *five Years*, there needed, methinks, no *Influence* to inforce it: But if the then *House* of *Commons* had such a *Respect* to *Persons* as to give away the *People's Money* through downright *Complaisance*, one would imagine their *Regard* for the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Denmark* might have been as prevalent with them as the *Pains* taken by my *Lord* and *Lady Marlborough*. If it was not so, but as the *Lady states it*, then I believe, Sir, that you and all the *World* must allow the *Court* had just Reason to be jealous of this *Lord* and *Lady*; who, when they thought fit to *exert themselves*, could *influence both Houses* of *Parliament*, and had at the same time the *absolute Direction* of the *presumptive Heir* of the *Crown*.

There is no Doubt to be made, even from her *Lady's Manner of telling it*, that the Behaviour of the King to *Prince George* is pretty

much *exaggerated*. However, supposing it to have been as *she represents it*, one may in some measure *excuse* his Majesty. His Affairs, while he was in *Ireland*, were in a very *ticklish Condition*: He was but *six Days* in passing from *Belfast* where he landed, to the *Boyne* where he fought that *decisive Battle* which fixed the *Crown* upon his *Head*; and we need not much wonder if, having Matters of the *utmost Importance* in his Thoughts, there was little room left for *Compliment* and *Ceremony*: Besides, he might have Occasion to *speak* to such as were in the *Coach* with him of *Things* of the *last Consequence*; and, I must own, I see no Cause why he should *trust* one with what concerned his *Life* and *Crown*, who would not *trust* his *Royal Word* for the Payment of *fifty thousand Pounds per Annum*; so visible a *Want of Confidence* on one *Side* might very well beget a *Coldness* on the *other*. As to the *Affair* of the *Prince's going to Sea*, it is plain enough, even from her *Ladyship's Manner of treating it*, that it was not so much meant to *express* the *Prince's Duty* towards his Majesty, as his *Sense* of the *ill Usage* he thought he had met with when he made a *Campaign by Land*. And if the *King* was apprized of *this*, as no doubt he *was*, then the desiring that he might *not go to Sea*, was a very natural, and, to speak plainly, a very *right Measure*; and the *Condescension* shewn in the *Application* made by the *Queen* to this

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Great Lady, is so strong a Proof of *Humility* in her Majesty, and of *I know not what to call it* in her Ladyship, that, I dare say, no Mortal, who has a *just Notion* of the *Reverence* due to *crowned Heads*, will be in any Doubt *where* to fix the *Censure*.

The *Removal* of my Lord *Marlborough* is the next Point of Importance; and indeed, I think it a Point of as *great Importance* to the *Writer*, as any in the whole Book; and yet a *very sorry Account* it is that we have of it. The King, we are told, did it without *publicly assigning any particular Reason*. This Lady, however, gives us three; the first is, That my Lord *Portland* had a *great Prejudice* to him; the next is, My Lady *Orkney* (then *Mrs. Villiers*) had an *implacable Hatred* to her; and the last, That removing my Lord *Marlborough* from his Employments, was a proper Step towards *removing the Countess from about the Princess of Denmark*. It must be owned, that if *any of these* was the *true Reason* for dismissing his Lordship, then the King did *very well* not to declare it publicly; for, most certainly, it would have had a *very odd Appearance*.

The great Figure this noble Lord made in the succeeding Part of his Life, has made every Writer of Character very cautious of saying *any thing* upon this Subject, which, perhaps, has not been *more happy* for that Lord's *Memory*, than if they had. Such as are inclined

clined to justify Lord Marlborough, tell us, that he *spoke very freely* of the King's Partiality to the *Dutch*, of several *Mismanagements* in the *War*, and of some *Indignities* that had been put upon the *English* abroad. In support of this Opinion, I cannot but acknowledge that I have always heard this Nobleman was a very *free Speaker*, particularly in *this Reign*: And that he might find Fault with the *Conduct* of the *War*, will not appear strange to any one who considers that he had already shewn himself a perfect *Master* of his *Trade*, by reducing the City of *Cork* in *Ireland* in *much shorter Time* than could be expected, and that too in the *worst Season* of the *Year*. Neither would it have been contrary to Truth, if he had complained of *some Hardships* suffered by the *English* Troops in *Flanders*, since the *Facts* were notorious, and General *Seymour*, and other Officers, made no Scruple of *talk- ing of them* publicly. Yet one Thing, which is certain, seems to destroy *all these Pro- babilities*; and it is this, that the Earl's Dis- grace was not *slow*, but *sudden*. He introduced Lord *George Hamilton*, afterwards Earl of *Orkney*, and Husband to Mrs. *Villiers*, to King *William* in the Morning, and was as well received as usual; yet, within *two Hours* after, the Earl of *Nottingham* came with a Message from the King, signifying, *that he had no farther Occasion for his Service*. Now no-body can imagine that, at this Audience, Lord

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Lord *Marlborough* could have said *any thing* which drew upon him this *Treatment*; and therefore, the most probable Account that can be given of this Step is, that *something* in the *Interim* had been told or explained to his Majesty, in *such a Manner*, as made him conceive it necessary to *dismiss* the Earl of *Marlborough* from his *Employments*; though he did not conceive himself obliged to *publish* to the *World* what his *Reasons* were for *acting* in *such a Manner*; neither do I know that Kings are bound to do this by the *Laws* of the *Land*, or the *Rules* of *true Policy*. Yet I must add, that *few Princes* have had a *better Character* in this Respect, than *him* of whom we are now *speaking*. He very rarely dismissed his *old Servants*; and when he did, he either *bad*, or thought he had *just Reason*: In this Case, such as *favour* the King have mention'd more than *one*.

SOME alledge that the Earl had taken *unaccountable Liberties*, with respect to Lord *Portland* and Lord *Rocheford*, Persons he apprehended to have a *larger Share* in the King's Confidence than himself; and that his Majesty *resented* this so much at the time, as to *turn his Back* upon him, and to give him *no Answer*; and as soon as he left him, sent the *Message* by the Lord *Nottingham*, which has occasioned all this *Dispute*. Without Doubt, if his Lordship had *accused* these Noblemen without *Proof*, or had *derogated* from their
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Merit or Services, he was in the *Wrong*, and his Majesty had Reason to be *offended*. But it is not to be supposed the Earl of *Marlborough* would do any thing of this sort, and therefore it is most likely that this improbable Story took Rise from an *imperfect Account* of one that had more of *Truth* in it, and of which we shall presently speak. Others say, that the King had promised to employ Count *Solms* in his Army, and that believing this would create some *Disputes* between him and the Earl of *Marlborough*, he was resolved to *dismiss* his Lordship before the Campaign began. If this had been the *true Reason*, I cannot imagine how it should be *known*; for the King, without Doubt, would *conceal it*, both from the Nature of the Thing, and from the *Reservedness* of his *Temper*. I am therefore apt to believe that this is a *mere Conjecture*, grounded upon *subsequent Events*; for Count *Solms* actually was *employ'd* by the King, and shewed a very unbecoming Partiality to the *Prejudice* of the *English*. The last Cause I shall mention, is that which, in my own Opinion, seems to be the *true one*, and that is the *Business* about *Dunkirk*. Of this there has been, as it is natural in *such Cases*, very different Accounts; for when a *Faët*, attended with a *Variety* of *Circumstances*, is not very speedily committed to *Writing*, there is nothing easier than to *corrupt* it, either through *Accident* or *Design*. As I have heard the

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Story, it ran thus: A proposition had been made to the King for *surprizing* that important Place, by the sudden Appearance of a *Body of Troops* before it, and attacking it in a *certain Part* where the *Works* were then *repairing*. This *Intelligence*, it is said, the King communicated to the Earls of *Marlborough*, *Portland*, and *Rocheſord*, and that ſoon after it appeared, by the *Precautions* which the *Enemy* took, that this *Deſign* was *diſcovered*. The King grievouſly offended thereat, employed his Spies abroad to gain ſome *Information* of the Manner in which this *Secret* had been *found out*; and theſe Spies having detected the *Correſpondence* of a *certain Lady*, and the *Manner* in which her *Epistles* were conveyed, *intercepted* one of them, wherein Mention was made of this *Plot* on *Dunkirk*, and of the *Writer's* having extracted the Knowledge of it from the *Counteſs* of *M—*. This incenſed the King ſo much, that, to ſave the Trouble of expoſtulating, he ſent the Earl of *Nottingham* to *diſmiſs* the Earl from all his *Employments*, and never made uſe of him afterwards throughout the *War*.

If this Story *be true*, it will account for *all the reſt*; for no doubt the Earl might juſtify his Conduct by alledging the *Secret* was communicated to *others*, as well as *himſelf*, and ſo the *Names* of the *Dutch Lords* might be brought into *Queſtion*. Again, this Removal making Way for Count *Solms*, it is very probable

bable that gave Occasion to the *other Report* ;
 at least there is nothing absur'd or improbable
 in this, but perhaps the thing may be carried
still farther. Bishop *Burnet*, who speaks of
 this Matter in Terms very favourable to the
 Nobleman who was removed, says however,
that some Letter was intercepted, which gave
Suspicion ; and the Lady herself, in this very
 Book, has produced a Letter from Queen
Mary, wherein there are several things which,
 without straining, seem to look this way.
 Speaking of Lord *Marlborough's* Removal,
 the Queen says, *I need not repeat the Cause*
he has given the King to do what he has done,
nor his Unwillingness at all times to come to
such Extremities, tho' People do deserve it.
 This plainly proves that he was not remov-
 ed without a Cause, or without a Cause *known*
 to the *Princess*, though not *publickly declared*.
 But what brings the Matter home to the La-
 dy, is what the Queen says in the same Let-
 ter, that the King and she might reasonably
 have expected she would have dismiss'd her
 Ladyship from her Service, without receiv-
 ing any Injunction from them. But (con-
 tinues her Majesty) *seeing you was so far from*
it, that you brought Lady Marlborough hither
last Night, makes us resolve to put it off no lon-
ger, but tell you she must not stay, and that
I have all the Reason imaginable to look upon
your bringing her as the STRANGEST THING
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that this is absolutely *conclusive*, and ought to put the Matter *quite out of Doubt* ; but I think I may, with Reason, affirm, that it gives much *Countenance* to the *Story* before told, and proves very plainly, that the *Cause* of his Lordship's *Disgrace* affected her Lady likewise. I might add, that even in this Book there are many Instances of her having an *Ascendant* over her Lord, and sharing in all his *Secrets*, nay, and in Lord Godolphin's too ; for she tells us, that at the time the Princess's Settlement was under Consideration, that noble Peer should inform her, *the King had express'd some Surprise to him how their Highnesses could spend thirty thousand Pounds a Year.* Which, all Circumstances consider'd, I must own, appears very *unfit* for that Lord to have told her then, or for her Ladyship to tell the *World now.* But to conclude ; the *Story* of *Dunkirk* is either *new*, or *unheard of* ; it has been *published* by several *foreign Writers*, and transcribed from them by *some of our own* ; one might therefore have expected, in this *Account* of her Ladyship's *Conduet*, that so, remarkable a *Calumny* should not have been *passed over* ; for certainly, if it was not so, all the *Heat* expressed upon the Earl's being *turn'd out* is very *ill founded.* Our Kings would be in a sad Situation, if they durst not *remove* from their *Service* such as appear'd to them *unfit to continue in it* ; we make them *accountable* for the *Ministers* they *employ*, and
this

this certainly implies a *Right* in them to *dismiss*.

The Detail given us in these *Memoirs* of the *Commitment* of the Earl of *Marlborough*, like most of the Facts therein, is, in general, so *loosely worded*, so *strained* in many *Circumstances*, and in others so *plainly falsified*, that I find myself obliged to give you a short Account of this Matter as it *really happened*, and then you will easily discern in what Measure the Earl's *Commitment* was his *Misfortune*, and how far it ought to be *imputed* as a *Fault* to the *Court*. It was in Consequence of a sham Plot, invented with great Villainy in *Newgate*, by one *Robert Young*, who had been committed to that Place till he discharged a *Fine* imposed upon him for other Rogueries; and being very expert in *counterfeiting Hands* he was instructed by one *Henry Pierſon*, a Prisoner in the same Place for Debt, to contrive a *Plot*, and father it upon the Earls of *Marlborough* and *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and some others. *Pierſon* being soon after at Liberty, employ'd one *Stephen Blackhead* to carry Letters between himself and *Young*. By a certain Stratagem *Young* happened to see the Earl of *Marlborough's* Hand, which he counterfeited so cunningly, that it was very difficult to discern the *true* from the *false*. Afterwards he drew up an *Association*, and affix'd to it the Hands of the Earls of *Marlborough* and *Salisbury*, and also Sir *Bazil*
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Firebrass's the Bishop of *Rocheſter's* and the Lord *Cornbury's*, which two laſt were writ by another Hand. And that the more Credit might be given to this pretended Plot, *Young* forged ſeveral Letters in the Name of the Lord *Marlborough*, ſuppoſed to be directed to himſelf; which *Blackhead* uſed to bring to him again. In the Month of *April* *Blackhead* went three times to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter's* Houſe at *Bromley*, upon various Pretences; but, in truth, to convey the forged *Aſſociation* into a ſecret Place, which he performed; and being found there by the *Meſſengers*, gave ſo much Colour to the Contrivance, that the *Lords* were committed upon it, and the Earl of *Marlborough* was afterwards diſcharged out of the *Tower* upon *Bail*.

After this fair Account of the Matter, be pleaſed to conſider what her Ladyſhip ſays of it, and reconcile it if you can to probability, Juſtice or Decency. ' To commit a
' Peer to Priſon, it was neceſſary there ſhould
' be an *Affidavit* from ſome body of the *Treaſon*. My Lord *Romney*, therefore, Secretary of State, had ſent to one *Young*, who was
' then in Jail for *Perjury* and *Forgery*, and
' paid his *Fine*, in order to make him what
' they call a legal Evidence. For, as the
' Court Lawyers ſaid, *Young* not having loſt
' his Ears, was an irreproachable Witneſs. I
' ſhall not dwell on the Story of this Fel-
' lows,

low's Villainy, the Bishop of Rochester having given a full Account of it in Print.

You see plainly, Sir, that here the *Fact* is quite *changed*, and Lord Romney is made the *Author* of this *Plot*, merely because he did his Duty, as *Secretary of State*, and sent for Young out of Prison to examine him. As to the Bishop of Rochester's Account, there is no Doubt to be made that it fully *clears* the *Lords*; but it is far from *fixing* any *Imputation* on the *Government*. The Truth is, there was no Ground for it, notwithstanding what was done afterwards; and of this I believe you will be convinced, when you read the following Passage from Bishop Burnet, who had a very great Regard for the Earl of Marlborough, and a proper Detestation of this *iniquitous Attempt*. ' There was (says he) an ' *Association* pretended to be drawn against ' the *Government*, to which the *Subscriptions* ' of many *Lords* were *set* so dexterously, that ' the *Lords themselves* said, they could not ' distinguish between their *true Subscriptions* ' and *those* that were *forged for them*. But ' the Manner of the Discovery, with several ' other Circumstances, carried such Marks of ' *Imposture*, that the *Lords of the Council* ordered a *strict Prosecution* of all concerned in ' it, which ended in a *full Conviction* of ' the *Forgery*; and those who had combined ' in it were *whipt* and *pillosed*, which, to the ' Reproach of our Constitution, is the only ' Punish-

‘ Punishment that our Law has yet provided
 ‘ for such Practices. The *Lords* passed some
 ‘ *Votes*, asserting their *Privileges*; and were
 ‘ offended with the *Judges*, for detaining *some*
 ‘ in *Prison*, though there was no *Reason* nor
 ‘ *Colour* for their *Displeasure*. But where
 ‘ the *Privilege*, or the *Dignity* of *Peerage* is
 ‘ in *Question*, it is not easy to keep the House
 ‘ *within Bounds*.”

I have dwelt longer on this Matter than I should otherways have done, in order to shew you that there was *nothing* in the Proceeding particularly *Personal* to the Earl of *M*. He was accused with other Persons of Quality, and they underwent the like *Hardships* with him. I must now put you in mind of a Reflection made in this Book, which shews, that whoever wrote it had no sort of Regard, either to Truth, or to the Quality of those who were slandered therein. These are hard Words, Sir; but I shall Justify them. The Reflection is this, ‘ Whether my Lord *M*’s
 ‘ Conspiracy with this *Young* was what the
 ‘ Queen meant in her Letter to the Princess,
 ‘ where she speaks of the Cause my Lord
 ‘ *Marlborough* had given the King to do what
 ‘ he had done, and of his unwillingness to come
 ‘ to such *Extremities*, though People did de-
 ‘ serve it, I know not; nor indeed could I
 ‘ ever learn what Cause the King assigned for
 ‘ his displeasure.”

The Earl of *Marlborough* was dismissed from his Employments in the *very Beginning* of the Year 1692. The Letter of the Queen's here referred to, is dated in this very Book—*Kensington, Friday, 5th of February*. This Plot did not break out till *April*. I would be glad to know therefore, what Credit this *Insinuation* deserves? or rather, what Credit any *Writer* deserves who is capable of making it? Surely it was believed that the *Titles* in the *Front* of this *Book* would fright People from examining the *Contents* of it, otherwise such a Reflection as this would never have been inserted. But, Sir, you see by this how much this *Passage* in the Queen's *Letter* galls the *Writer*; and therefore I think it is a *strong Proof*, that it alludes to *something else*, which I have before endeavoured to *clear up* to you. But whatever it *alludes* to, it could not *allude* to *this*; and the Attempt to impose it upon us, is such a *Boldness*, that if it were not *before my Eyes*, I could not *believe* it; or desire any *other Person* to believe it, if he had it not *before his*.

It may possibly remain a Doubt with some Readers, especially considering what is said in this Book to shew the *Improbability* of the Earl of *Marlborough's* being in any Plot against King *William*; I say, it may remain a Doubt with some Readers whether King *William's* Ministry did not, after all, shew *too great Readiness* to suspect Persons of so great

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great Quality, and who had done such *remarkable Services* on such kind of Informations. Now, the Respect I have to *Truth*, and not any Bias in favour of that *Ministry*, obliges me to wipe off that Reflection, by observing, that from the very Moment the Crown was set upon King *William's* Head, he was *betrayed*, and *betrayed* by Persons in his *Council*; by Persons who had gone warmly into the *Revolution*, and of whom it would have been very unbecoming in him, till such *Facts* appeared, to have intimated the *least Suspicion*. To prove this to you, I must take Notice of a very odd Thing, which happened so early as the Year 1689, and the Truth of which cannot be doubted.

The House of Lords had entertained some Suspicion, that Lord *Griffin* was disaffected to the Government; they therefore *addressed* his Majesty to require his Lordship to surrender himself to a *Secretary of State* by Proclamation, which was done; and Lord *Griffin* surrendered accordingly. Upon his coming before the House of Lords, he desired to have Time granted him to consider of *taking the Oaths*, in which he was very readily indulged. Before that Time was expired, he sent his *Cook*, pretty late one Night, to a *Pewterer*, to have a false Bottom of a *large Bottle* soldered. In doing this, the *Pewterer* discovered several *Letters*, directed to King *James*, the Duke of *Berwick*, &c. Upon this he seized the
Cook,

Cook, and carried him to the House of one of the *Secretaries of State*; but his Lordship being gone to Bed, his Servants had too much Manners to disturb him, which gave my Lord *Griffin* an Opportunity to make his *Escape*. Upon examining the Papers in the *Pewter Bottle*, there were found in them, amongst other Things, a Copy of the *Resolutions* taken in the King's *Cabinet-Council*, consisting of four Persons only; which is the Circumstance that induced me to tell you this Story. Yet such was the Interest of Lord *Griffin's* Friends, that notwithstanding this clear and direct Proof, he was secured from all Punishment, and restored to that Liberty which he lost, by surrendering himself to the Earl of *Skrewsbury*, then *Secretary of State*, upon Assurances from his Friends no doubt, that he should be gently dealt with.

Sir *John Reresby*, whose Character I have before given you, tells us, that the Earl of *D.* afterwards made *Marquiss* and *Duke* by King *William*, and at that Time *President* of his *Council*, being disobliged because he had not the *Treasurer's Staff*, told this Gentleman plainly, that if King *James* would but quit his Papists, it might not be too late yet for him. The same Gentleman likewise shews us, that the then Lord *Privy Seal* was much in the same Sentiments. And if it should be objected that all this relates to past Times, and when the Government was in a very unsettled Condition,

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I must intreat you to read the following Passage from a Treatise written by the Earl of *Warrington*, in the very Year this unhappy Affair of the Earl of *M's* fell out; and you will be convinced, that there is no Ground for suspecting a *Secretary of State* was concerned in making a *Plot*, merely because at such a Time he gave *Credit* to it. ' I see (says Lord *Warrington*) so much Treachery in the whole Management of the King's Affairs, that I have scarce Patience to think of it. The whole Administration is put into such Hands, as would make a Man believe, that a Design is deeply and strongly laid to bring back King *James*. Most of the Justices of the Peace throughout *England* (whose faithful Execution of the Laws is the Strength of the Government) are now such as would be certainly ready to bid him welcome. And many of them are so very scandalous in their Morals, that the Queen was constrained by Proclamation to order the Execution of the Laws against Debauchery among themselves.'

The Weightiness of this Matter will, I dare say, in your Opinion, excuse the Pains I have taken about it. I am as glad of an Opportunity to do Justice to great Characters, as the Author of this Book is of throwing out Aspersions. But it is time to come to the Quarrel between their Majesties and the Princess

of *Denmark*, about this *Great Lady*. Great indeed! for this Book shews that she *embarrassed* one whole Reign, *influenced* the greatest Part of another, and has occasioned much *Noise* and *Disturbance* ever since. Yet, I persuade myself, that few of her Enemies had so *bad* an Opinion of her Conduct as this Book will *obtrude* upon her *Friends*. It has been already shewn, that King *William* had, in all Probability, good Reason for acting in the Manner he did by the Earl of *M.* and if he had, there is no Question that himself and his Queen might expect from the Princess of *Denmark* such a Mark of *Affection* or of *Duty* at least, as dismissing from about her a Person whom they disliked. They might the rather do this, if it was notorious, that instead of being in the Service of the *Princess*, this Lady, in reality, *governed* her *Highness* and her *Family*; nay, and her *Husband* the *Prince* too: For it was she made Lord *Berkley* Groom of the *Stole* to his *Highness*; it was she preferred Lord *Lexington* to be about him, and therefore she took it ill that he should speak to the Prince to put her out, who put him in. One cannot help Surprise at seeing *Self-love* so strong as to persuade a Person, at the *Distance* of so many *Years*, that the Princess of *Denmark's* manner of acting towards her Brother and Sister, who were at the same time her *Sovereigns*, was fit, decent, and what would do Honour to her *Memory* to be set forth

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forth and published at large, with all the *Messages* and *Letters* relating thereunto, by one who knows *the Truth of what she says*, &c. But *Self-love* is the *ruling Passion* in almost every Mind; we lay it down in *one Shape*, and take it up in *another*, of which the Book before me is a *flagrant Proof*. The Author has done with the *Thoughts of governing and directing Nations*, in *reality*; but is resolved to employ herself, to *her last Moment*, in *amusing and amazing* them with her *Writings*.

The *Epistles* from the *Princess* to this *Lady*, under the Names of *Morley* and *Freeman*, are, generally speaking, esteemed the most *striking Part* of the *Work*; and certainly are so in that *Lady's own Opinion*, since she has directed them to be laid up in the *Archives* of the *House of M*. But to deal ingenuously with you, Sir, I can scarce *forgive* her the *Publication* of *them*; which I think *wrong* for many Reasons, but particularly for this; That from the very *Nature* of the *Letters* it appears, the *Princess* never would have *written them*, if she had suspected they *would have been published*; and therefore, I must think the sending them abroad in this Manner a *Violation* of that *Confidence* which *Mrs. Morley* reposed in *Mrs. Freeman*, who indeed, from the very Time the *Correspondence* began, seems to have had her *Name* very much in her *Head*, and to have made *very free* with her *Mistress*.

I have always heard it objected to the Me-

mory of *Queen Anne*, that she was too fond of those who were *about her*, allowed them too great *Familiarity*, and indulged them in such *Liberties* as first rendered them *insolent to others*, and at last *insupportable to herself*. This is a *Foible* incident to good-natur'd People; and was, if I mistake not, the *grand Failing* of the House of *STUART*. It is dangerous, in all Nations, for *Princes* to have *Favourites*; but more especially in *this*, where, let them be good or bad, they are sure to be *adored at Court* while their Favour lasts, and *abhorred every where else*.

All the World expressed an Esteem for this *Great Lady* when she erected a *Statue* to the Honour of her *Mistress*, inscribed with a *Character* which she was known to have *deserved*. But these *Letters* seem to have blotted out the *Inscription*; and, if I may be allowed the Expression, injure the very *Statue*, which will be no longer thought to be erected to the *Glory*, but to be set up as a *Monument* of the *Weakness* of that *Princess*. That *Inscription* and this *Book* put me in mind of the *Conduct* of an ancient *Greek Writer*, whose Works are to be met with among the *Byzantine Historians*. His Name was *Procopius*; he was *Secretary* to the famous *Belizarius*, who flourish'd under the Reign of *Justinian* and *Theodora*. This Man wrote a *publick History*, or rather a *History* for the *Publick*, in which he gives the most *extravagant Commendations*

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mendations to their *Imperial Majesties*; but he left behind him a *Book of Memoirs*, by him stiled *Anecdotes*, which I take to signify Things that ought to be hid, wherein he *tore* their Characters to *Pieces*, and said every thing that his *Spleen* and *Malice* could suggest. I do not say that these *Memoirs* are written with the *like Intent*; But I am apprehensive they will have the *like Effect*.

I am led into this Opinion by considering that the *Publication* of these *Letters* can give Pleasure only to the *violent* of both Parties; I mean, on one Hand, the *Jacobites*, and, on the other, the *furious Whigs*. As to the former, it is easy to foresee what ample Commentaries they are like to write upon these *Epistles*. The Princess *Anne* (will they say) *left* her *Father* to fly to the *Prince of Orange*; and from that very Moment, and in consequence of that very Step, she never enjoy'd *Ease*, so long as that *Prince*, whom she preferred to her *Father*, liv'd. She, for him, saw her *Right postponed*, and, tho' she *consented* to it, did it with *Reluctance*, and beheld the Consequences with *Displeasure*. She persuaded the People of *England*, that she submitted to him in all things, as to her *Sovereign*; and yet she refused to give him and his *Consort*, tho' her *Sister* and her *Queen*, the poor Satisfaction of dismissing a *Person* from about her, even tho' it were upon Condition that she might *take her again*. They will have *Saga-*

city enough to insert WILLIAM in the *Chasms* of the several *Epistles*, and will dwell sufficiently on the Word TYRANT, when applied to that Prince by so great and so *intelligent a Person*. On the other Hand, the *inveterate Whigs* will here find Matter enough to excuse their *Malice* to the *Memory* of the *Queen*; they will insist on her acting insincerely from the very *Beginning* of the *Revolution*; for they will construe *Disrespect* to the *Person* of the *King* into *Dislike* of his *Title*; and will imagine, that one who could complain so *heavily* of *ill Usage* from the time he *came over*, would not have been exceedingly *displeased*, in case he had been *sent back*. In short, they will think these *Letters* more than a sufficient Justification of King *William's Conduct* towards the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Denmark*, and will never be brought to believe that such *bitter Expressions* could be warranted by *not letting a Person ride in a Coach*, *obliging him to lay aside his Black on a Birth-day*, or *eating a Plate of green Pease*, through *Forgetfulness*, *when the Princess was at his Table*. Strong Instances these of a Man's being *particular*, or a *Humourist*, but surely such as were never produced before to *prove a Prince a Tyrant*.

All moderate Men of *all Parties* will be disgusted with these *Billets*, which, as they were the Effects of a *private Friendship*, and by the Use of *fictional Names*, appear to have been

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been solely designed for *Privacy*, ought never to have reach'd the *Eye* of the *Publick*. They know that Princes have their *Foibles* as *Mortals*; but they know too, that it is the Duty of good *Subjects* to *conceal* them, and not to make a Display of those *Weaknesses* which hurt that *exalted Character*, whence the Person who publishes them derives her *highest Honours*. And so much for Mrs. *Morley* and Mrs. *Freeman*; Names very lately known to the World, and which will now be known, talk'd of, and censured as long as the Fame of a great D ———, and an *excellent Queen* shall survive.

And now, Sir, after saying so much of *Letters*, permit me to add a Word or two about the *best Letter* I have found in the *Book*; I mean that of the Earl of *Rockester* to the *Princess*, upon the Subject of the mighty Quarrel between their *Majesties* and her *Higness*. I have, I must confess, read it over and over, and, considering the Quality of the Writer, his Employment in their *Majesties* Service, his near Relation to the Queen and *Princess*, his own Sense of things, and the Situation in which he found himself when he wrote it, it appears to me as *rational*, as *honest*, and as *respectful* a Letter as it was possible for a Man to write; and if this wise Lady could afford us no *better Testimony* of Lord *Rockester's* Want of *Understanding* than this *Letter*, I protest I think she might have spared it, as well as the

Reflections she has made upon it. The *Answer* of the *Princess of Denmark*, on the other Hand, is to me so *rough*, so *haughty*, so *contrary* to her usual Manner of *Writing*, that I am tempted to think, though it might be written *by her*, it was first written *for her*; and I fancy that, by *reading* this *Book*, I have gained some Acquaintance with the *true Author's Style*. — But to let that pass.

I wonder what this Lady would have thought of my Lord *Rocheſter's* Letter, if he had written it some *twenty Years* later, and he had expostulated in this Manner on the *Unreasonableness* of the Queen's *Affection* for Mrs *Masbam*; I dare be sworn it would then have passed for a very *sensible* Epistle; I mean, if he had told her Majesty *there*, what, in Effect, he tells her *here*, that he could not sacrifice his *Reason* to her *Humour*. I know not whether it strikes you as much; but I must own I never met with so strong an Instance of *Self-conceit* as this of judging of every body's *good Sense* by their taking Part with her *Highness* in this *Lady's Quarrel*, and of their *Honesty* too, in avowing their Sentiments; for it is plain she thinks no body that had *common Sense* could fail in discerning the *Princess* to be *in the Right*, and that therefore nothing but *Interest* could induce them to *say the contrary*. Yet so strongly do some other *Prejudices* stick by her, that though she can *never forgive* the *Ladies*, who, in Obedience to the Queen's Commands,

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Commands, forbore to visit the Princess, during the time this Quarrel subsisted: she will not, however, forgive some other People, though they did visit her. Two or three Jacobite Ladies (says she) also came to her, because, it was easy to observe all of that Interest rejoiced much in the Quarrel. Did they so? And pray what Interest were they in who made the Quarrel? I dare say, in King William's time, I might have had a fairer Answer to this Question than will now be given me: However I must take Leave to add, that I much question whether the Princess of Denmark herself liked the Ladies the worse for being her Father's Friends, whatever this Lady might do.

After producing such a String of strange Stories, it is amazing to me to hear it said that any body thought that the Princess did a great deal too much, in Point of Respect to the King, and to the Queen when living. Something of the same sort I think is mentioned in the INSCRIPTION; and yet, speaking of a Letter from the Princess to the King, on the taking of Namur, the very Notion of Respectfulness is turn'd into Ridicule; so that it is impossible for one to have a just Idea of what the Writer means. The most that I can make of it is, that though the Princess was very angry with their Majesties, and treated them very ill almost every Day in black and white; yet, on certain publick Occasions, she was too respect-

ful. I could not (says the great Lady) 'endure to have her do any thing that I would not have done in her Place. Right, upon this Principle. I dare say the Princess must have acted unwisely; for though this Lady has led all her Life about Courts, yet I never heard Respectfulness to Crowned Heads thrown into the Number of her Accomplishments. Upon this Occasion I cannot but reflect on the Unhappiness of King William, who, notwithstanding all the great things he did, was treated with Disrespect by some violent People of all Parties. Sir John Fenwick, I have heard, would never pull off his Hat before him; and the Duke of Berwick was guilty of the same ill Manners, when taken Prisoner in Flanders and brought into his Presence; these were Jacobites. Then the Harangues of Seymour, Musgrave and How, who said the Partition Treaty was a felonious Treaty, and he was a Felon that made it, are Specimens of the Decency of the Tories. And lastly, this Censure of a very jejune formal Letter upon the taking of Namur, as too full of Respect, comes from the best Friend of the Whigs. To say the Truth, after the Revolution many People began to shake off all Duty and Regard to the Crown, and this has grown too much into a Custom since. While People are about Kings and Queens, while they enjoy their Favour, while they receive Honours from the Prerogative, and heap up Fortunes from their Kindness,

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ness, they will vouchsafe, in Return, to be *very respectful*; but if ever this ceases, if they live to be removed out of the *Sunshine*, and to be no longer cherished by the *Beams* of a *Court*, why then truly, there is an *End* of *Duty* and of *Decency*. At this rate they never pay *Respect* to their *Sovereign*, but to their *Interest*; and it is easy to perceive, that while this *Doctrine* goes *current*, the *Crown* can presume very little upon its *Subjects Obedience*. Yet, I must confess, that these *Principles* are not avowed either by *Tories* or *Whigs*, except in their *Actions*, which one would be often tempted to think were influenced by some *Notions* of this sort in *them both*.

The most severe Reflection upon King *William's* Administration (and many severe ones there are) is this which follows; wherein he seems to be charged with *purloining* a large *Sum* of *Money* from the *Publick*; a Crime *below a King*, and, in Appearance, altogether inconsistent with the *Temper* and *Character* of the King upon whom it is charged. ‘ When
‘ the Duke of *Gloucester* was arrived at the
‘ Age to be put into Men’s Hands, the King
‘ insinuated to such Members of the Parlia-
‘ ment as he knew were desirous to have the
‘ Duke handsomely settled, that it would re-
‘ quire near 50,000 *l.* a Year, and at the same
‘ time he promised other Persons, whom he
‘ knew it would please, that he would pay
‘ Queen *Mary* in *France* her Settlement,
‘ which

' which was also 50,000 *l.* a Year. And these
 ' Steps he took in order to obtain an Addition
 ' of 100,000 *l.* a Year to his Civil List. The
 ' Addition was granted, yet he never paid one
 ' Shilling to the Queen, and as to the Duke,
 ' the King not only kept him in Women's
 ' Hands a good while after the new Revenue
 ' was granted, but, when his Highness's Fa-
 ' mily was settled, would give him no more
 ' than 15,000 *l.* a Year: Nay, of this small
 ' Allowance he refused to advance one Quar-
 ' ter, though it was absolutely wanted to buy
 ' Plate and Furniture; so that the Princess was
 ' forced to be at that Expence herself.

There is in this Account a great Mixture of
Facts and *Suppositions*; and if these are once
 separated, the *true State* of the *Matter* will
 appear, but *never till then*. According to
 Bishop Burnet's Account, and indeed accord-
 ing to all Accounts, the *Settlement* followed
 the *Peace* of *Ryswick*; and it was in Conse-
 quence of that *Peace*, that Queen *Mary* was
 to receive 50,000 *l.* a Year, upon a Sugges-
 tion of the Court of *France*, that King *James*
 being in a manner dead with respect to her, it
 was but reasonable she should enjoy her *Join-
 ture*: So that here was no clandestine *Insinua-
 tions* to *Members*, that such a Thing would
be done, for it was in reality stipulated that it
should be done; nor was the Thing unreasona-
 ble in itself. Nay, I dare say, the 50,000 *l.*
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ployed in obtaining such a *Concession* of the *Legality* of the *Government* in *England*, from its capital Enemies. But when it came to the Point, *Queen Mary* refused to send any proper *Receipt*, and endeavoured to turn this *Agreement* to *King James's* Advantage, which was the sole Reason why this Money was not paid her. I persuade myself, therefore, that this is a good *Justification* of the *King*, as to one of the 50,000 *l.*s a Year; inasmuch, as it is clear he did not obtain it by any *Collusion*, or detain it by any *Fraud*. He was advised by his *English Ministers*, that it was not *safe*, or at least not *prudent*, to pay it in the Manner it was demanded; and therefore *they*, and not *he*, ought to have been *accountable* to *Parliament* on that *Head*.

As to the other 50,000 *l.* we have it asserted, that the *King* took it as *necessary* for the *Duke of Gloucester's* Settlement, of which I very much doubt. *Burnet*, who very probably had his Account of this Matter from the very Person who furnished the *Materials* for this *Book*, tells us only, that it was intended to settle a *Court* about the *Duke of Gloucester*, that is, a *Court* agreeable to his Years. He was then about *Nine*: and one would imagine, that 50,000 *l.* a Year for a *Boy* of that *Age*, could scarce be thought *necessary*, when the same Sum was by *Parliament* judged sufficient for his *Father* and *Mother*. The natural Way then of putting the Thing is this; from

from the *Revolution* to the *Peace* of *Ryswick*, the King's Revenue had been in a very unsettled Condition; notwithstanding which, he contributed largely out of it to the *Expences* of the *War*. Now therefore, when it came to be put upon a better Foot, it was proposed to give his Majesty 600,000 *l.* a Year for *Life*; which appeared a very large Sum to such as were *against* the Court, and too small a one to those who were to *manage* it. They therefore contrived to add another 100,000 *l.* on account of Queen *Mary* and the Duke of *Gloucester*; not that they *thought*, or even *pretended*, that the Whole of this Sum would be *paid* them; but that the King would shortly *settle* the Duke's *Household* in such a Manner as was fit for him, and *increase* it as he *grew* older. The King therefore might very well *take* this *Money*, without apprehending that he *cheated* or *defrauded* the *People* at all. And then, as to the advancing a *Quarter's Salary*, I doubt it was not much in his *Power*; for Bishop *Burnet* tells us, that by some great Error in the Management, though the Court never had *so much*, and never spent *so little*, yet *Payments* were *ill made*, and by some *strange Consumption* all was *wasted*. How this came to pass, I pretend not to say; but I think there are *Accounts* which may be depended upon, that very great Sums were given to some leading Men in the *House of Commons* for their *Interests*, when the King had any thing to ask; and, I doubt,

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doubt, this *Affair* of the *Settlement*, being a Matter of very great *Consequence*, it might cost his Majesty dear. These are critical Topicks, and such as, at this Distance of Time, it is difficult for a Man to handle. And therefore, I could have wished so much of this Book as relates to the Reign of King *William*, had been published while People were alive who were concerned in the *Transactions* mentioned therein. However, I hope what I have offered will be sufficient to clear the King from any *Imputation* in this *Affair*: When the Money was asked, it was intended to be paid; and what was fit for the Duke, was actually settled upon him so long as he lived; and if he died soon after, as he did, it was what the King could not foresee; nor did his Majesty himself long survive him.

Of all the great Persons, and particularly all the great *Ministers* mentioned in this Work, there is none so kindly treated as the Earl of *Sunderland*; for which, perhaps, it might not be difficult to assign a pretty good Reason. It is, indeed, true, that he was a Man of extraordinary Abilities; and that, notwithstanding he was thought one of the worst of King *James's* Ministers, he was, beyond Comparison, the best of King *William's*. He served him, for any thing that appears to the contrary, with very great Fidelity; and he could not but serve him with great Capacity, for he understood Business better, and managed the King's Temper

per with more *Dexterity* than any *Stafeman* he ever had about him. Yet I know not how it comes to pass, but he is introduced in this Book as influencing his Majesty in the *settling* the Duke of *Gloucester's Household*, though, according to all the Accounts I have met with, he retired from Court pretty early in the Year 1698. Perhaps it may not be amiss, if I tell you what I have heard, both of his *coming to* and *going from* this Court; for, if I mistake not, *one* of the principal Uses of the Book before us, will be bringing to Light a great deal of *secret History*, which might *otherwise* have been buried in *Oblivion*.

The Earl of *Sunderland* was very *early* in the Confidence of King *William*, though it appears to me pretty doubtful, whether he was *so deep* in the *Scheme* for bringing about the *Revolution*, as is generally imagined. He retired to *Holland* as soon as it was *brought about*, and there he published a *kind of Apology* for himself, which amounted, I think, to this, that he promoted *arbitrary Power* with a View to *extinguish it*, and turned *Papist* to keep out *Popery*. He was a *great Politician* to be sure, and so knew how to *reconcile Contradictions*; and, by Dint of this Skill of his, he not only escaped the *Storm* which every Body expected would have *burst* upon his *Head*, but came to have a great Share in the *Management* of that *Court* where the World imagined he durst hardly have *shewn* his *Head*. It was long,
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however, before any thing of this was acknowledged, he gave his Advice *secretly*, and the King followed it *punctually*. By Degrees his Majesty discovered, that his *Abilities* were *superior*, and his *Notions clearer* and *better connected* than those of his *Ministers*. He likewise became sensible that he had *fewer Humours*, and served him more effectually than other *great Men* did ; and this engaged him to pay a greater Deference to his *Opinions* than to those of any other *English Counsellor* ; and this for a considerable Space of Time, wherein he lived *privately*, and was not generally known to have any great *Influence at Court*.

But when this came to be *suspected*, and, in Process of time, to be *known*, there wanted not some who insinuated to the King that *Sunderland* was so *thorough* a *Politician*, as never to be without a *Back-door* ; and that some time or other he might repent depending upon a *Minister* who had been *too cunning* for his *Father*. King *William*, it is said, *despised* these *Insinuations*, and indeed he was so wise a Man, that I think he could do *no less* than *despise* them : However, he gave a dextrous Turn to them, and such as these *Whisperers* least of all *expected*. He resolved to make use of this *Pretence* to call him to *Court*. He said the *Earl* had acted long enough behind the *Curtain*, and that it was now time he should *appear* upon the *Stage* ; for which Reason he gave him a *white Staff*, as Lord *Chamberlain*, and
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caused him to be *sworn* of his *Privy Council*. This I think was in *April* 1697, and before the Year was out he *resigned* that *Employment*, and shortly after, resolved to *retire* in earnest, and never more to meddle with *publick Business*. When the King brought him to Court, it was certainly with an *Intent* to have made use of his *Counsels* during his Life; but the Earl quickly perceived, that whatever the King might *design*, the thing was impossible. The *Tories* pursued him with all the *Violence* that is natural to them, at the same time that the *Whigs* were *jealous* of him, and acted but *coldly* in his *Defence*; he did not, therefore, wait till things came to *Extremities*, but very wisely chose to do that of his *own Accord*, which the Power of his *Enemies* would soon have forced him to do, whether he *would* or *not*. Burnet has given a very candid Account of this *Matter*, and owns that the King shewed an earnest Desire to have kept him about him, and the Reasons he assigns for it are such as deserve to be read.

‘ Upon this Occasion (*says he*) his Majesty
 ‘ express’d such a Concern and Value for him,
 ‘ that the Jealousies were increased by the
 ‘ Confidence the Court saw the King had in
 ‘ him. During the time of his Credit, things
 ‘ had been carried on with more Spirit and
 ‘ better Success than before: He had gained
 ‘ such an Ascendant over the King, that he
 ‘ brought him to agree to some things that

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‘ few expected he would have yielded to.
 ‘ He managed the publick Affairs in both
 ‘ Houses with so much Steadiness, and so good
 ‘ a Conduct, that he had procured to himself
 ‘ a greater Measure of Esteem than he had in
 ‘ any of the former Parts of his Life ; and
 ‘ the Feebleness and disjointed State we fell
 ‘ into, after he withdrew, contributed not a
 ‘ little to establish the Character which his
 ‘ Administration had gained him.

Such was the Earl of *Sunderland*, who is so well treated in this *Book*.

I cannot conclude this *Letter* without observing to you, that of all our *Kings*, except such as were actually *dethroned*, there never was one more *unhappy* than King *William* ; and yet perhaps there *never* was a King who *less deserved it*. His coming hither against his *Father* and *Uncle* was his *Misfortune*, rather than his *Fault* ; and it is monstrous to see *People* throwing in it in his *Teeth*, who were amongst the *Authors of it*. In *doing* what he *did*, he acted from *Principle* ; he thought that the *Liberties of Europe*, and of his *native Country* particularly were in *Danger*, from the *exorbitant Power of France* ; he was convinced that King *James* acted in close *Conjunction* with that *Crown*. Of *two Evils*, therefore, he chose what to him appear'd the *least* ; nor did he choose it, till a great *Number* of the *Nobility* and *Gentry of England* invited him over in their *own Names*, and the
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Names of thousands besides, to whom it would have been dangerous to confide such an *Invitation*. The *English* about him persuaded him that the *Step* was *legal*, as appears from all *Burnet's Writings*, who justifies himself by alledging, that when Kings have gone a *certain Length* their Subjects may *leave them*, upon which *Doctrine* he *acted*. *Johnston* and many others advanced the *same thing*, at least as far as their Understandings would *give them Leave*; so that the Prince of *Orange* came over fully persuaded that he did a *right* as well as *necessary Action*. That he intended to be *King* from the *Beginning*, and that such as *invited him* intended *he should be so*, no reasonable Man can *doubt*; the *Prince* himself told them so *plainly enough*, when the *Debates* ran high in the *Convention*, and he saw how strange a *Sort of People* he had to *deal with*.

In respect to *Parties*; he dealt *fairly by all*, and *none* dealt *fairly* by him. The *Whigs*, after they had set him upon the *Throne*, were embarrassed by their *own Principles*, and found themselves frequently obliged either to *depart* from them, or to oppose a *King of their own making*. His Majesty, after the *Crown* was set upon his *Head*, certainly thought himself *as much a King* as his *Predecessors*; and there wanted not some who gave him very high Ideas of the *Royal Dignity*, the *Nature* and *Extent* of the *Prerogative*, and the *Obedience* he had a *Right* to from his *Subjects*. When
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he touched on these Heads, the *Whigs* were at first disposed to leave him; and accordingly they *did so*, and were esteemed *Patriots* for so doing: But, when they found the King could be served by other People, they struck in again with the Crown, and served it, or rather served themselves, so effectually, that they entirely lost the Hearts of the People. In short, they gave way to a Deluge of Corruption, and valued every thing by the Standard of Money. The King at last saw this, and the Necessity of once more having Recourse to the *Tories*, which was the last Step of his Reign. As to the Conduct of these Men, it has been so industriously disguised, that it is a very hard Matter to set it in a clear Light. The Party was composed of nominal *Tories* and real ones. The nominal *Tories* were *Jacobites*, of loose Principles, who took the Oaths to a King *de facto*, that they might better serve their King *de jure*. The real *Tories* were such as determined to serve the new King upon their old Principles. At the Head of these was the Earl of Nottingham, who, though he had opposed making the Prince of Orange King, was afterwards so sincerely in his Interest, that he would have hanged every *Jacobite* in the Kingdom without Mercy, to shew that he was not of their Number. This, Sir, is the real Truth, and the plain Reason why the *Tories* were decried in that Reign was, that the *Whigs* represented them all as *Jacobites*; and, on the other

other Hand, the complying *Jacobites* all pretended to be *Tories*. It was a long time before the King, who was a *Foreigner*, could find this out; but Experience helped to open his Eyes. In the Beginning of his Reign he found that his *old Friends*, the *Whigs*, treated him ill. In the *Midst* of it, he was convinced that he was ill served by them; and the Conduct of all his *Parliaments* shewed him plainly, that the *Bulk* of the *Nation* were *Tories*, and therefore he at last wisely resolved to be served by the *moderate Men* of all *Parties*, and to make no *Distinction*, but the natural and great Distinction of such as were well affected to his *Government*, and such as were against it.

I believe I have, by this time, tired you, and therefore I will here put an End to my Letter. If what I have said gives you any Satisfaction; if it removes your *Doubts* as to any of the *Facts* I have mentioned; if it brings you to have a just and clear Notion of the true State of things, and the real Character of *Persons* and *Parties* in King *William's* Reign; it will give me great Satisfaction, and perhaps tempt me to resume the *Subject*, in order to shew you, in another Letter, how the *Tories*, taken in at the *latter End* of King *William's* Reign, and who served Queen *Anne* with so much Reputation in the *Beginning* of her's thought fit to tack about, and declare themselves *Whigs*; what the Consequences were of that Change in the *latter Part* of her Reign,

Reign, and why there is great Reason to believe that the *Tories* will *always prevail*, whenever an *Administration* is weak enough to declare against them openly as a *Body*. This, Sir, however, depends upon your *Answer*; for as I have really no Desire either to *serve* or *injure* any Party, but merely to pursue TRUTH; so, if I find the *Time* is not come, wherein *Truth* can be *borne*, I can be content to be *silent*, and leave People to *delight* themselves with their *own Dreams*, and to follow such *Systems* of *Delusion* as the *Treatise* which occasioned you *this Trouble*. In the mean time, I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

BRITANNICUS.



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